

Message Text

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SUBJECT: GUINEA-BISSAU

THE ISSUE OF GUINEA-BISSAU WAS DISCUSSED DURING THE RECENT VISIT OF NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND TO WASHINGTON. FRYDENLUND INDICATED THAT THE NORDICS WOULD CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU. HE ASKED FOR OUR VIEWS ON THE ACTUAL SITUATION PREVAILING IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA THE PORTUGUESE-GUINEA DESK HAS PEPAED THE PAPER WHICH FOLLOWS. UNLESS RECEIVE SOME OBJECTION, YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO GIVE A COPY OF THIS PAPER TO THE APPROPRIATE OFFICER IN THE MFA CITING THE ABOVE HISTORY AND OUR HOPES THAT IT MAY HELP THEM IN THEIR DELIBERATIONS. QUOTE U.S. POSITION ON GUINEA-BISSAU..
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THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT LOOKS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CERTAIN FACTS BEFORE IT CONSIDERS EXTENDING RECOGNITION TO A NEW STATE. THESE FACTS INCLUDE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER A CLEARLY-DEFINED TERRITORY AND POPULATION; AND A CAPACITY TO ACT EFFECTIVELY TO CONDUCT FOREIGN RELATIONS AND TO FULFILL INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. IN AFRICA, THESE FACTUAL CRITERIA HAVE GENERALLY BEEN MET IN THE PAST FOLLOWING A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE FROM COLONIAL STATUS THROUGH AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE COLONIAL POWER AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY

CONCERNED. UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, HOWEVER, EVEN IF THESE FACTUAL CRITERIA ARE PRESENT, A STATE IS NOT OBLIGATED TO RECOGNIZE ANOTHER ENTITY AS A STATE.

QUOTE IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA, THE FACTS SUGGEST THAT THE BASIC CRITERIA FOR RECOGNITION HAVE NOT BEEN MET. THE BEST INFORMATION WE HAVE INDICATES THAT THE AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF PORTUGUESE GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (PAIGC), THE GROUP THAT HAS DECLARED THE EXISTENCE OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU, DOES NOT CONTROL AS MUCH AS ONE THIRD OF THE TERRITORY IN QUESTION. EVEN THIS REFERENCE TO A CONTROLLED AREA IS NOT PRECISE. THERE IS CLEARLY NO SETTLED CAPITAL WHERE GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS ARE CONDUCTED OR WHERE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES COULD BE RECEIVED OR LIVE. WE ARE AWARE OF OTHER ESTIMATES OF PAIGC CONTROL THAT ARE NOT SO GENEROUS AS OURS. EVEN THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF "GUINEA-BISSAU", LUIZ CABRAL, HAS ADMITTED IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS THAT THE PAIGC HOLDS NO MAJOR CITIES OR TOWNS AND HAS MADE NO SIGNIFICANT GAINS IN CONTROLLING RURAL AREAS IN THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS. IT CONTROLS NO TERRITORY IN THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS.

QUOTE BOTH THE PAIGC AND PORTUGAL HAVE A DEMONSTRATED CAPABILITY TO STRIKE ALMOST ANYWHERE IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA. HOWEVER, OUR INFORMATION IS THAT, EXCEPT FOR AN INABILITY TO PRECLUDE OCCASIONAL ATTACKS BY THE PAIGC, PORTUGAL EFFECTIVELY CONTROLS ABOUT TWO-THIRDS TO THREE-QUARTERS OF THE TERRITORY. THIS IS GENERALLY CORROBORATED BY INDEPENDENT SOURCES.

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QUOTE IN THE PAIGC DOMINATED TERRITORY WHICH LIES FOR THE MOST PART, ALONG THE GUINEA BORDER, THE PAIGC PROBABLY CONTROLS BETWEEN 25,000 AND 50,000 PEOPLE OUT OF A TOTAL PORTUGUESE GUINEA POPULATION OF 490,000. POPULATION CENTERS REMAIN UNDER PORTUGUESE CONTROL.

QUOTE THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SUBSCRIBES TO THE CONSTITUTIVE THEORY OF RECOGNITION WHEREBY RECOGNITION MAY BE WITHHELD-FOR-POLITICAL REASONS, DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF FACTUAL CRITERIA (CITED EARLIER), BUT CANNOT BE EXTENDED IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH CRITERIA. SHOULD SUCH CRITERIA BE MET BY THE PAIGC, THEN WE WOULD HAVE TO STUDY THE MATTER FURTHER.

QUOTE WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE DECLARATION OF THE EXISTENCE OF A STATE BY THE PAIGC HAS AN IMPORTANT SYMBOLISM FOR THE AFRICANS. TO RECOGNIZE A NEW STATE, HOWEVER, WHEN CLAIMS TO EFFECTIVE CONTROL ARE IN DISPUTE WOULD SET A PRECEDENT WHEREBY DISSIDENT AND DISAFFECTED GROUPS THE WORLD OVER COULD PROJECT THEIR INTERNAL CLAIMS ONTO AN INTERNATIONAL ARENA BY REQUESTING RECOGNITION AS SOVEREIGN STATES.

QUOTE FOR THE REASONS CITED ABOVE, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE PAIGC CLAIM AND OPPOSES ADMISSION OF GUINEA-BISSAU TO THE UN OR ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. END
QUOTE RUSH

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